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or tributaries, which clearly indicates the route of diffusion: Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Southern Okanogan, and Coeur d'Alêne.[26] The distribution of dwarfs as tutelaries is identical (except possibly for the Southern Okanogan) but hardly coincidental. My data bear out Park's observation that a belief in dwarfs is more widespread than their occurrence as guardians.[27] In addition to the group mentioned above, dwarfs are known to the Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Flathead, Shuswap, and Carrier.

Spirits whose normal form is anthropomorphic are infrequent except for the dwarfs. But not only anthropomorphic but human spirits are declared to be recognized by the Thompson and, by implication, the Shuswap.[28] But the guise in which spirits appear to human beings is uniformly anthropomorphic among all Plateau peoples with the following exceptions. The marginal Kutenai and the Kalispel recognize both animal and human guise while the Carrier and Chilcotin spirits appear only in animal or half-human form. The animal guise may be typical of the Mackenzie area; it is specifically the Sekani pattern. But it is probably more widespread, especially southward into the Plains.[29] This would explain the Kalispel-Kutenai compromise. Since the dominant spirits of the Coast, mythological beings, are fundamentally anthropomorphic in form, the Plateau stands out as a unit in recognizing animal spirits which assume anthropomorphic form in contact with man.

Park treats as one the concepts of power derived from ghosts and that derived from spirits of dead relatives.[30] This is not justified in the Plateau. A brief digression is necessary to explain.

During life, the guardian spirit and its possessor are clearly distinguished as two distinct entities; this has been pointed out above. A third entity, the soul, is conceptually distinct from these two and materially distinct from the spirit; indeed, wholly unrelated to it. On the other hand, the soul is inextricably linked with the material human body in a physical way; it is the animating force in the body. Separation of the two entails immediate death or serious illness followed by death if

[26] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 245; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 236 f.; Cline, *Southern Okanogon*, pp. 135 f.

[27] Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 78 f.

[28] Contrary to Park (*Shamanism*, p. 77); Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 354; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 605.

[29] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 68–70; Benedict, *Vision in Plains Culture*, pp. 12 ff.

[30] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 79.

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775 776 the two are not soon reunited. The soul is conceived as being located somewhere within the body; the Sanpoil localize it near the heart but it is not identified with that organ; the Canadian Salish believe it to be situated in the head.

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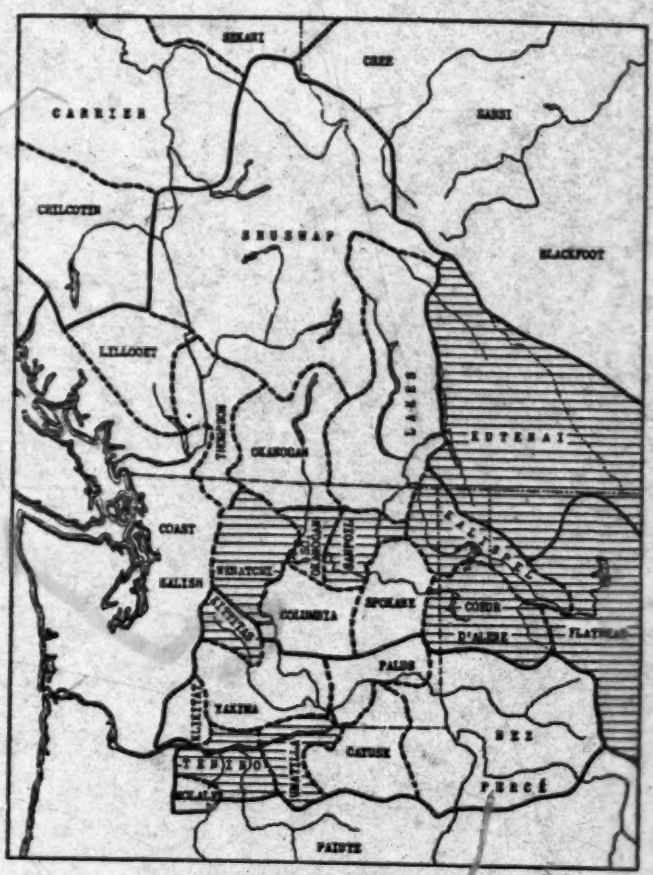


MAP 8. The spirit-ghost concept.

775 776 Now upon death the soul and body are separated. The body disintegrates, ceases to exist; but the soul becomes transformed into the ghost (unless it immediately goes to the land of the dead) and continues to exist. Its form may be pseudo-anthropomorphic or, at the other extreme, flame-like or bone-like.

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At the same time any one of several things may happen to the guardian spirit which the deceased possessed. It may return to its genus; it may disappear; or it may become non-existent. Each of these alternatives is found in western America. But there is still another possibility: the guardian spirit may "die" likewise and become transformed into a ghost—a "spirit-ghost." This is exactly what happens among some peoples of the Plateau. To them it is inconceivable that an entity so intimately associated with man as his guardian spirit should not undergo a major transformation upon his death. As suggested, this transformation follows the pattern of the soul: the soul becomes the ghost; the guardian spirit becomes the spirit-ghost. It is not felt that the "soul" of the guardian spirit becomes the spirit-ghost. Since the guardian spirit is an ethereal rather than a material entity, transformation may be direct; a "spirit-soul" concept is not a logical necessity. The change from guardian spirit to spirit-ghost is nevertheless equally as radical as that from soul to ghost. Regardless of the original identity of the spirit, its after-death form is anthropomorphic.

This type picture is derived from the Sanpoil, but is modified to present a fairly general idea of the concept throughout the area. The concept is known to be present among the Kittitas, Umatilla, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kutenai, and probably Tenino (absent: Klikitat).[31] The center is clearly the Sanpoil-Southern Okanogan; outward from here the concept fades in complexity and integration. (The spirit-ghost, as a source of power, is further discussed below in connection with the inheritance of spirits.)

We may now return to the question of power derived from ghosts. First of all, it is obvious, in the light of the above facts, that power from ghosts is a very different thing from power derived from the spirits of dead relatives. In the former case the transformed soul, the *human ghost*, would serve as a *spirit;* in the latter instance the *non-human guardian spirit* or *non-human spirit-ghost* would serve as a *spirit*.

As a matter of fact, nowhere in the Plateau is there an unequivocal case of spiritual power derived from the ghosts of human beings. It is true that the Lillooet shamanistic aspirant keeps about him the bones of dead men but these are merely symbolic of his control over death and ability to visit the land of the dead. The Carrier suppliant may sleep at a cremation place for the same reason, or even to learn by occult

[31] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 173–76; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 153 f.

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means the secrets of dead shamans. But even here the shaman's ghost does not become his guardian nor supply him with spiritual power. Teit states that

> among the Lower Thompsons a shaman who desired to obtain a dead person for his guardian spirit placed a skull in front of his private sweat-house, and danced and sang around it. . . . He sang and prayed to the soul of the deceased person to whom the skull belonged to impart to him the desired knowledge.[32]

Dancing around the skull is typical procedure for the purposes indicated above; valuable *knowledge* quite distinct from *spiritual power* may be obtained by singing and praying as indicated. But I could get no corroboration from the Lower Thompson for the ghost as a spirit. Furthermore, when Teit lists specified shamanistic spirits he mentions many *objects* connected with death, all of which fit perfectly into the pattern: lodge and poles at grave, heaps of rocks at graves, dead man's hair, bones, and teeth; also the land of the dead. Teit speaks in a similar vein of Lillooet beliefs.[33] There is a further possible explanation for this apparent aberration. It may be that the spirit-ghost is confused with the human ghost. Spirit-ghosts and ghosts are not always distinguishable in their ethereal forms. There is undoubtedly often confusion in the minds of natives as to whether the figure in a particular anecdote is a soul-ghost or a spirit-ghost.[34]

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Among most Plateau groups vague distinctions are made between stronger and weaker spirits, safe and dangerous spirits. But nowhere are these distinctions consistent even from one group to the next. True specialization of spirits, on the other hand, is specific in distribution and clear in conception. At one extreme is the belief that a particular spirit invariably conveys a particular type of power; at the other, any spirit is capable of conferring any type of power, strength permitting. Again we find the south central Plateau forming a unit, with belief in non-specialization (Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel; also Flathead). Groups recognizing specialization in some cases, or modified specialization, are marginal to the above (Klamath, Wishram, Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé, Southern Okanogan).[35] Among the Salish to the north a more rigid specialization is the

[32] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 354.
[33] Teit, *loc. cit.*; Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 287.
[34] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 174; see below.
[35] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 103, 122 f.; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*,

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central area (Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Kutenai). It is lacking for the Klamath, Wishram (?), Southern Okanogan, Flathead, and Canadian Plateau. The distribution is mutually exclusive of that of transmission by means of a symbol (Southern Okanogan,[38] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Shuswap; not Lillooet, Flathead) except for the Kalispel where the practices seem to reflect amalgamation. Neither of these concepts appears typical of any adjacent area; they may, therefore be considered local developments with the Canadian-American areas once more contrasted in specific trait identity though the continuity of distribution argues for a general relation of the two concepts.

Certain of the groups lacking both traits do, nevertheless, possess a more specific notion of inheritance. These are the very ones most intimately associated with the Coast (Klamath, Tenino, Thompson), plus the Nez Percé, the "Plains tribe" which shows upon close analysis many coastal features undoubtedly received via the Columbia-Snake route. Among the Tenino, according to Murdock, "guardian spirits are transmitted by a parent of either sex to an own child of either sex —but by or to no one else—at the winter shamanistic performances."[39] The absence of heredity among the Wishram may actually represent only absence of data. Altogether these cases support Spier's contention that even minimal reflection of true inheritance points to a coastal origin.[40]

And yet the case is not closed. All the southern examples, with the exception of the Tenino, may actually involve the spirit-ghost concept. The fundamentals of this idea were given above. When a man possessing a guardian spirit dies, not only does his soul become a ghost, but his guardian spirit may undergo a similar transformation and become a spirit-ghost. The spirit-ghost lacks almost completely its former characteristics; even its generic name is dropped. Instead it refers to itself (in communion with man) by the term for spirit-ghost or a *relationship term designating the person who before death possessed it*. The spirit-ghost, *in the guise of the deceased*, appears to a person in a dream or vision and seeks acceptance as a secondary power. That person is usually but not invariably a relative. This commonly happens within a year after the death of the spirit's owner. The spirit-ghost speaks to the dreamer in the following tenor: "I am your father (or friend). I

[38] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 137 f.
[39] Murdock, personal correspondence.
[40] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 247–49.

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want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my partner." The one addressed is not privileged to reject the proposal without becoming seriously ill. Acceptance, too, involves unavoidable illness unless one's former power be greater than that which he is to receive from the spirit-ghost. The illness is similar to that caused by the first return of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. A shaman must be called, who removes the spirit-ghost, brings it under control, and returns it to the patient. Thereafter its power is available for use in much the same manner as ordinary spirit power.[a]

It seems highly probable that some, at least, of the cases of "inheritance" are actually of this order. This pattern, slightly modified, fits Klamath inheritance perfectly. The Klamath shaman's "spirits and clairvoyant powers are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them."[a]

To a slight extent the Shuswap share the belief and it is entirely possible that Teit's statements concerning power derived from ghosts is the result of the confusion of the soul-ghost and the spirit-ghost. The Chilcotin lack the concept, as do the Carrier. But among the latter a shaman may sometimes effect the transfer of a spirit from a father to his son.

The spirit-ghost notion indeed involves inheritance and may be built upon a generalized concept borrowed from the Coast. But it is certainly cast in a Plateau mold and centers well to the interior. It is surely significant that the transfer is not always to a relative (Kalispel, Kutenai) and that it may be "given" by the patient to the attending shaman or wholly discarded (Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan,[a] Sanpoil).

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One of the profoundest points of distinction in the spirit concept is the mode of reception, whether by true vision, or dream, or a combination of the two. I have pointed out above that the experience may take place in a half-waking (or half-sleeping) state and yet be culturally classified as definitely dream, or definitely vision. Since the problem

[a] Description based on the Sanpoil pattern; among certain other groups the illness is less severe or absent.

[a] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 97.

[a] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 153.